

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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EUCOM PRIORITY

CINCUSAFE PRIORITY

AMCONSUL ADANA PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 5544

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: IFOR MARR MASS US TU

SUBJ: INITIAL USG-GOT NEGOTIATING SESSION ON DEFENSE
COOPERATION

REF: (A) ANKARA 5517 (B) ANKARA 5518 (C) ANKARA 5519
(D) ANKARA 5531

1. MEETING REQUESTED BY FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL TO
DISCUSS DEFENSE COOPERATION TOOK PLACE IN FOREIGN MINISTRY'S
CONFERENCE ROOM AT 1700 HOURS TODAS JKJULY 17). DELEGATIONS
WERE AS REIORTED REFS B AND D. CHAIRMEN OF BOTH DELEGATIONS

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STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF GOT-USG SECURITY RELATIONSHIP

TO THEIR SEPARATE GOVERNMENTS, THE NEED TO CONTINUE AND STRENGTHEN IT, AND THE BURDENS FROM BOTH SIDES WHICH WERE CURRENTLY ENCUMBERING IT. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING IT WAS AGREED NO SPECIFIC DATE WOULD BE SET FOR NEXT SESSION AND THAT THIS WOULD BE SETTLED IN DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN TWO CHAIRMEN.

2. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT IN RESPONSE TO PRESS QUERIES, CHIEFS OF BOTH DELEGATIONS WOULD SAY ONLY THAT DISCUSSIONS HAD BEGUN AND THAT THE FIRST MEETING WAS TAKEN UP WITH GENERAL STATEMENTS AND DISCUSSION OF PROCEDURAL MATTERS. CHAIRMEN WOULD INDICATE THAT NO SPECIFIC TIME HAD BEEN SET FOR NEXT MEETING AS BOTH DELEGATIONS WOULD NEED TO SEEK FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS, BUT THAT NEXT MEETING COULD BE EXPECTED IN RELATIVELY NEAR FUTURE.

3. REMAINDER OF THIS TELEGRAM TRANSMITS STATEMENT AND SUMMARY OF SUDSEUUEENT SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS BY TURKISH CHAIRMAN ELEKDAG. IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WILL SUMMARIZE AMBASSADOR MACOMBER'S STATEMENT AT MEETING.

4. BEGIN TEXT OF TURKISH DELEGATION CHAIRMAN ELEKDAG'S PREPARED STATEMENT:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND THE DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

IT IS INDEED A GREAT PLEASURE AND PRIVILEGE FOR ME TO WELCOME YOU AND HE MEMBERS OF YOUR DELEGATION AROUND THIS TABLE, ON BEHALF OF THE TURKSIH DELEGATION AS WELL AS ON MY OWN BEHALF.

THE FACT THAT WE ASSEMBLED HERE TODAY IS, ABOVE ALL, A CLEAR INDICATION OF OUR MUTUAL INTEREST IN THE CONTINUATION OF THE BILATERAL DEFENCE COOPERATION WHICH WAS DEVELOPED IN THE PAST IN MANY AREAS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

IN MY OPINION, THIS BASIC UNDERSTANDING, IF EQUALLY SHARED BY THE UNITED STATES, MAY BE REGARDED AS A STRONG GUARANTEE FOR THE SUCCESS OF OUR DELIBERATIONS.
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MR. CHAIRMAN, TURKEY IS CONVINCED THAT THE BILATERAL DEFENCE COOPERATION WHICH SHE HAS DEVELOPED WITH THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1954, HAS BEEN SERVING BOTH NATO'S INTERESTS IN GENERAL, AS WELL AS TURKEY'S AND THE UNITED STATES' IN PARTICULAR, AND CONTRIBUTED TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT TO THE STRENGTHENING OF OUR COUNTRIES DEFENCE POTENTIAL.

THE COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES HAS UNDERGONE A TRIAL PERIOD UNTIL 1967 WHEN BOTH PARTIES FOUND IT RELEVANT TO BASE THEIR DEFENCE COOPERATION ON NEW PRINCIPLES AND CONDITIONS. THE DEFENCE COOPERATION AGREEMENT OF 3 JULY 1969 WAS CONCLUDED FOLLOWING NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT FORMULATING THE NEW BASIS. THIS AGREEMENT BROUGHT ABOUT A NEW CONCEPT AND BASIC PRINCIPLES TO THE DEFENCE COOPERATION. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, THE COMMON DEFENCE INSTALLATIONS HAVE THUS BEEN SUBJECTED TO JOINT USE AND OPERATION PRINCIPLE. ON THE OTHER HAND, ANOTHER BASIC PRINCIPLE WAS LAID DOWN, NAMELY A CONTINUED SUPPORT AT AN APPROPRIATE LEVEL TO BE PROVIDED BY THE UNITED STATES TO TURKISH ARMED FORCES.

IT IS THEREFORE CLEAR THAT THIS AGREEMENT OF 3 JULY 1969 ESTABLISHED A BALANCE BETWEEN THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND BENEFITS OF THE PARTIES IN THE FIELD OF DEFENCE COOPERATION. MEANWHILE, A GREAT DEAL OF CHANGE HAS BEEN WITNESSED, DURING THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS, IN THE NATURE OF THE UNITED STATES' MILITARY AID TO TURKEY AND A STEADY DECLINE OCCURED IN ITS VOLUME. DESPITE THE FACT THAT THIS CHANGE HAS CREATED A DISEQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN THE MAIN ELEMENTS CONTAINED IN THE 1969 AGREEMENT, IN VIEW OF HER FIRM BELIEF THAT BILATERAL DEFENCE COOPERATION TO STRENGTHEN COLLECTIVE SECURITY IS TO THE MUTUAL INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES, TURKEY, DESPITE INCREASING PRESSURE BY THE PUBLIC OPINION, DEPLOYED ALL POSSIBLE EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF DEFENCE COOPERATION AT ITS AGREED LEVEL.

I FEEL COMPELLED TO EXPRESS OUR PROFOUND DISAPPOINTMENT ON THE MANNER IN WHICH SUCH RELATIONSHIP WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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CEIVED BY THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS. INDEED, THE CONGRESS CHOSE TO IGNORE, BY ITS RESOLUTION TO IMPOSE A COMPLETE ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY, THE VERY BASIS OF THE TURKISH-AMERICAN DEFENCE COOPERATION. IT IS CLEAR THAT THIS RESOLUTION CAN HARDLY BE SEEN AS COMPATIBLE WITH THE SPIRIT ON WHICH TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS WERE BASED AND WITH THE BASIC PROVISIONS OF OUR TREATY RELATIONS BOTH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL.

TO ESTABLISH A LINK BETWEEN THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND THE TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP IS BOTH WRONG AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. IT IS WRONG BECAUSE THE TWO ELEMENTS HAVE NO RELEVANCE WITH EACH OTHER. IT IS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE BECAUSE IT INJECTS THE MALAISE AND THE COMPLEXITY OF THIS ISSUE, WITHOUT CONTRIBUTING

TO ITS SOLUTION, INTO A RELATIONSHIP WHICH WORKED PERFECTLY WELL DURING THE LAST THREE DECADES TO THE BENEFIT OF THE TWO COUNTRIES AND TO THAT OF THE WESTERN SECURITY. THE ONLY EFFECT OF THIS DECISION WOULD BE THE WEAKENING OF THE DEFENCE OF THE ALLIANCE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, IN VIEW OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS AND THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, I AM SURE YOU WILL SHARE WITH ME THE SERIOUS CONCERN AS TO WHAT EXTENT ONE CAN FURTHER PURSUE A DEFENCE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES AS ESTABLISHED BY THE DEFENCE COOPERATION AGREEMENT OF 3 JULY 1969. AS FAR AS TURKEY IS CONCERNED, SHE IS STILL IN FAVOUR OF A CONTINUED BILATERAL DEFENCE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, THE NEW COOPERATION AS WE ENVISAGE TO PROMOTE, SHOULD, ABOVE ALL, SERVE THE FOLLOWING PURPOSES: FIRSTLY, TO DEFINITELY AVOID ANY WEAKENING OF THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES' DEFENCE CAPABILITIES, AND TO FIND STABLE WAYS AND MEANS TO PROGRESSIVELY STRENGTHEN THEM ACCORDING TO TODAY'S REQUIREMENTS; SECONDLY, TO BASE SUCH COOPERATION UPON A NEW CONCEPT ACCORDING TO WHICH THE ADVERSE EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE CREATED IN THE TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION COULD POSSIBLY BE ELIMINATED. I WOULD EMPHASIZE THAT FOR US THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO SECURE A STABLE FLOW OF MILITARY SUPPLIES FOR

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THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES, THAT SHOULD BY NO MEANS BE SUBJECTED TO ANY UNEXPECTED CHANGE OF POLICIES, SUCH AS THE ONE WE HAVE BEEN WITNESSING DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I THINK I HAVE TRIED TO OUTLINE THE BASIC CONCEPT OF A FUTURE DEFENCE COOPERATION WHICH TURKEY WOULD LIKE TO PURSUE WITH THE UNITED STATES IF THE LATTER TOO BELIEVED THAT SUCH A COOPERATION WOULD BE

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TO BOTH COUNTRIES MUTUAL BENEFITS. SINCE THE TURKISH
GOVERNMENT WILL SOON SUBMIT A DRAFT AGREEMENT IN
THIS RESPECT, I DO NOT WANT TO ELABORATE ANY
FURTHER ON OUR VIEWS. I WILL THEREFORE CONFINE
MYSELF WITH SOME BRIEF REMARKS SIMPLY TO THE PURPOSE
OF PROVIDING A GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AS WAS COMMUNICATED TO THE UNITED STATES
EMBASSY BY THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S NOTE NO. 2813 OF 17TH JUNE, 1975,
IT IS DIFFICULT, FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY TO CONTINUE, UNDER
THE PREVAILING CIRCUMSTANCES, TO CONSIDER STILL VALID THE PRESENT
LEGAL STATUS OF THE COMMON DEFENCE ACTIVITIES AND OPERATIONS
BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES. IT IS THEREFORE IMPERATIVE
THAT THE EXISTING INSTALLATIONS AND ACTIVITIES BE SUBJECT TO
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A PROVISIONAL STATUS WHICH SHOULD REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL THE
FINALIZATION, THROUGH BI-LATERAL NEGOTIATIONS OF THE NEW LEGAL
STATUS AND EXTENT OF THE FUTURE DEFENCE COOPERATION BETWEEN
TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES. ALTHOUGH THIS PROVISIONAL
STATUS HAS ALREADY BEEN FORMULATED BY THE COMPETENT TURKISH
AUTHORITIES, THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY HAS DECIDED TO POSTPONE
THE COMMUNICATION OF IT TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT UNTIL
THE END OF THIS MONTH, SINCE DELIBERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES'

CONGRESS WITH REGARD TO THE ARMS EMBARGO HAVE NOT BEEN FINALIZED SO FAR. MESSAGES WHICH WERE SENT BY PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY OF STATE DR. KISSINGER, AND SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION PROVIDED IN THE SAME RESPECT BY UNITED STATES' OFFICIALS WERE ALSO TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WHEN IT ADOPTED ITS DECISION ON THE POSTPONEMENT ON PUTTING INTO EFFECT THE PROVISIONAL STATUS. ON THE OTHER HAND, I ALSO WISH TO POINT OUT THAT THE PROVISIONAL STATUS WILL CERTAINLY CONSTITUTE NEITHER A DEPARTING POINT FOR OUR DELIBERATIONS, NOR A PRECEDENT FOR THE FUTURE LEGAL STATUS.

A WHILE AGO I HAVE MENTIONED THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE CREATED BY THE ATTITUDE OF THE CONGRESS IN THE TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION. THIS IS AN IMMEDIATE PROBLEM WHICH WE SHOULD TACKLE WHEN TRYING TO REMEDY THE SITUATION AND TO RESTORE THE RECIPROCAL CONFIDENCE WHICH EXISTED BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS. HOWEVER, I SHOULD POINT OUT THAT THE RECENT RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IS NOT OF A NATURE TO HELP US IN ACHIEVING HIS END. ALTHOUGH THE EMBARGO IS ENVISAGED TO BE LIFTED FOR THE RELEASING ONLY OF DEFENCE ARTICLES AND SERVICES WITH RESPECT TO WHICH CONTRACTS OF SALE WERE SIGNED ON OR BEFORE 5 FEBRUARY 1975, AND FOR ISSUING LICENCES FOR THE TRANSPORTATION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY, OF ARMS, AMMUNITION AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR, THE EMBARGO DECISION ITSELF REMAINS UNCHANGED AS FAR AS MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SALES CREDITS OR GUARANTEES UNDER FOREIGN MILITARY SALES ACT ARE CONCERNED. FURTHER PROCUREMENT OF DEFENCE ARTICLES AND SERVICES IS POSTPONED UNTIL THE ENACTMENT OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION FOR THE FISCAL YEAR

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1976.

MR. CHAIRMAN, WHAT AFFECTS MORE THE TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION IS THAT EVEN CASH PURCHASES ARE BEING LINKED WITH THE CYPRUS ISSUE WHICH HAS NO RELEVANCE WHATSOEVER TO OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

WE EARNESTLY HOPE THAT THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS WILL FINALLY RECOGNIZE THE VALUE OF THE TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN GENERAL, AND TURKISH-AMERICAN BILATERAL COOPERATION IN PARTICULAR, AND WILL CONTRIBUTE TO SAVE THESE RELATIONS FROM ANY FURTHER ADVERSE DEVELOPMENTS. IN FACT, THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND THE TURKISH DELEGATION'S ENDEAVOURS ARE MOTIVATED PRIMARILY BY THE SINCERE OBJECTIVE OF

SAFEGUARDING THE TURKISH-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP AND
MUTUAL INTERESTS, THUS SERVING THE PURPOSE OF NATO
AND THE FREE WORLD.

MR. CHAIRMAN, IN TODAY'S MEETING, WE ARE OPENING THE NEGOTIATION
S
AIMING AT THE ESTABLISHING OF THE NEW STATUS AND EXTENT OF THE FUTURE
TURKISH-AMERICAN DEFENCE COOPERATION. THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY
WISHES A PROMPT AND RAPID CONCLUSION OF SUCH DELIBERATIONS,
NS,
SATISFYING THE MUTUAL INTERESTS OF BOTH PARTIES.

TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE REASONS WHICH LED THE TURKISH
GOVERNMENT TO POSTPONE THE COMMUNICATION OF THE PROVISIONAL
STATUS TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, THE TURKISH DELEGATION
WILL BE IN A POSITION TO ELABORATE FURTHER ON ITS DETAILED
VIEWS ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE STATUS ONLY AT A LATER STAGE,
ONCE SUCH COMMUNICATION HAS BEEN EFFECTED TO THE UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT.

BEFORE CONCLUDING, I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE, MR. CHAIRMAN,
THAT OUR NEXT MEETING BE SCHEDULED AT A LATER STAGE, AT A MUTUALLY
CONVENIENT DATE. THANK YOU.

END ELEKDAG'S PREPARED STATEMENT

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5. SPEAKING EXTEMPORANEOUSLY AFTER AMBASSADOR MACOMBER'S
REMARKS, ELEKDAG SAID THAT, WHILE THE US WISHES ITS SECURITY
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US TO CONTINUE, THE FACTOR OF UNPREDICTABILITY
SHOULD BE REMOVED. THIS FACTOR, ELEKDAG SAID, BELITTLES THE
US-US RELATIONSHIP AND DIMINISHES ITS RESPECTABILITY IN EYES
OF BOTH TURKISH AND US PUBLIC OPINION. HE STATES THAT CONTRARY
TO POSITION PUT FORWARD BY US CHAIRMAN MACOMBER, US REGARDS
DCA AS NO LONGER VALID. HE REPEATED THAT US WOULD
ANNOUNCE PROVISIONAL STATUS OF US INSTALLATIONS AT END OF MONTH,
AND HE ARGUED THAT MILITARY EQUIPMENT FOR TURKEY IN THE FUTURE
SHOULD BE CONSONANT WITH THE RISK TURKEY HAS TAKEN IN PERMITTING
US INSTALLATIONS ON ITS SOIL.
MACOMBER

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